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Memorandum on the Ukrainian question in its national aspect

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MEMORANDUM

ON THE

Ukrainian Question

in its National Aspect

BY

YAROSLAV FEDORTCHOUK

LONDON
FRANCIS GRIFFITHS
34 MAIDEN LANE, STRAND, W.C.
1914

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Memorandum on

The Ukrainian Question

in its National Aspect

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Ukrainian Question in its National Aspect

Compiled on behalf of the
"Cercle des Ukrainiens," Paris, and the
"Ukraine Committee," London

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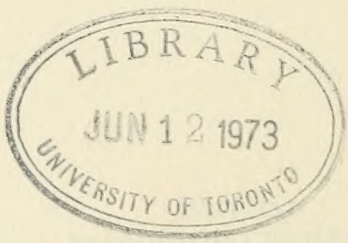

Translator's Foreword

THIS Pamphlet, which is issued simultaneously in the English and French languages, contains two distinct parts. They were both written by M. Yaroslav Fedortchouk, who is the Secretary of the *Cercle des Ukrainiens à Paris*, the author of *Le Réveil national des Ukrainiens* (Paris, 1912), an important brochure on the question, and a regular contributor to the *Courrier Européen* on Ukrainian questions.

The first part is a list of desiderata which was read on Monday, February 16th, 1913, at the Conference organised by the " Nationalities and Subject Races Committee," and comprises what M. Fedortchouk considers to be the minimum of the claims urged by the Ukrainian educated classes.

The second is an explanatory memorandum, which is now being published, so as to give in a cheap and simple form the whole of the Ukraine question in modern times For those who wish to study the question from an historical point of view, there is a volume published at the beginning of 1914 by Mr. Francis Griffiths, 34, Maiden Lane, Strand, London, England. It is entitled *The Ukraine*, and has an extensive bibliography. It is fully illustrated, and is sold at the price of 2s net.

During February, 1914, about the time that M. Fedortchouk was writing his paper, a compromise was reached in Galicia between the Poles and Ukrainians. The terms of this compromise have been included, together with an article written by the translator in 1913, and printed originally in the *Commentator*.

G. R.

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What the Ukrainians Want

BY

YAROSLAV FEDORTCHOUK

THE Ukrainian nation, now politically divided between Russia and Austria-Hungary, was for centuries thrown, so to speak, into the depths of oblivion. She suffered under her neighbours, and became in spite of her large population an entirely unknown unit in Europe. Her thirty-five million human beings have been deprived of their national soul, and crushed under the heavy hand of their conquerors. But I believe that it is written upon the iron tablets of destiny that they will recover their freedom once more, and will liberate their country from the yoke of her foreign oppressors.

The Ukraine nation, emerging from its drugged sleep of two centuries, must needs make up for the time lost and hammer into the souls of her sons those national sentiments necessary to make her conscious of her national rights. Already many Ukrainians have set themselves to fulfil this task, and their work has borne some fruit. Cannot you hear that growing murmur that comes from Eastern Europe? To-morrow it will be the roar of a giant awakened. Drugged and manacled, the giant slept on; now he is preparing to throw his fetters off, and they will fall from him with thunder. The gaolers look on astounded, but powerless, unable to bring him to his knees again. This giant is the Ukrainian people, who now wishes to build a house for himself and for his children, and to enable him to fulfil this task the following demands must be granted:—

I

IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The Ukrainians of Russia demand :—

I. That the Russian Government should cease to consider them enemies of the Empire, and should abandon their shameful attempts at the Russification of the Ukraine.

II. That the Russian Government should officially recognise them as forming a distinct nationality, different from the Great Russians. They should be given the necessary liberties, the inviolability of person and home, the freedom of the Press, of public meetings, associations, and of all the various political, economic, and scientific organisations.

III. That their own language should be used for teaching in their own schools, both primary and secondary, as well as in the universities situated in the territory of the Ukraine proper.

IV. That all public offices in the Ukraine should be accesible only to people born in that country.

V. That they should have that minimum of national political rights without which no nation can develop or progress.

VI. Especially that the Russian Government should put a stop to the present petty pin-pricks, such as punishing Ukrainian school children for having exchanged a few words in their mother tongue, or having sung their national song; that books published in the Ukraine language be no longer treated with suspicion and confiscated.

VII. That the Imperial Post Office should cease to " verify " the subscribers' lists of the Ukrainian newspapers, as in the case of peasant subscribers, and that the delivery of those newspapers be no longer held up.

VIII. That the Divine Service be no longer held in a tongue foreign to the Ukraine population.

IX. That the so-called Russian Nationalist Party, which is made up entirely of the renegade Ukrainian element should no longer be accepted as representing the Ukrainian nation in the Duma and before the Government.

X. That they should have their own institutions, representative, central, provincial, and communal; to satisfy this demand Russia should change her centralising and bureaucratic system and become a federative State, in which each nationality would enjoy complete autonomy.

II

IN AUSTRIAN GALICIA

The Ukrainians of Galicia in Austria, who are also known under the local name of Ruthenes or Ruthenians, demand:—

I. That Galicia should wake from the torpor in which it has been maintained for centuries by the Polish domination, and that an end be put to the campaign of conquest, spoliation, enslavement, encroachment, and systematic extermination of the Ruthenian natives by the invaders.

II. That the School Council of the Province be divided into two parts, the one Polish, the other Ruthenian, so that the Ukrainian children escape the punishing hand of their Polish teachers.

III. The immediate foundation of the Ukrainian University at Lemberg, which has been promised repeatedly of late, since the existing University, founded for and destined for the Ukrainians, has been appropriated by the Poles.

IV. The repeal of the Exceptional Laws, which only allow Ruthenian secondary schools to be founded, and this after the consent of the Polish majority in the Lemberg Diet has been obtained, while the equivalent Polish

schools are founded by the Minister of Public Instruction, without so much as asking leave of the Diet.

V. The repeal of the second Hakatist Law, passed by the Polish members, which does not allow seminaries to be opened for the training of teachers using the Ukrainian language. The Rutheno-Ukrainians of Galicia, who number three and a half millions, have not one training college of their own for teachers.

VI. The right to create commercial, industrial, and agricultural schools, which has been refused so far to the Ruthenians by the Polish majority in the Diet.

VII. That the Ruthenian peasant proletariat be no longer exploited by the Polish landlords, and no obstacles be placed in their way when they seek abroad work which is better rewarded than at home.*

VIII. That Ruthenian money be no longer devoted to fostering Polish culture at the expense of Ruthenian.

IX. The right to be tried before judges of the Ukrainian nationality, having no confidence in the Polish judges, who are always partial and often insulting to the Ruthenians.

X. That the secret agreement between the Vienna Government and the Poles, which was reached in 1873, be brought to an end; for it was in virtue of that agreement that the Poles became absolute masters of Galicia, while the Ruthenians were considered and treated as if they belonged to an inferior race.

XI. The political division of Galicia into two distinct parts—Western, Polish; Eastern, Ukrainian; Cracow

* It is interesting against this demand of the Ukrainians to quote a few lines which appeared in the *National Review* for February, 1914. In the course of an article on the races of Canada, Mrs. Donald Shaw said :—" Taken all round, physically, morally, and intellectually, I think the Ruthenians represent the finest type of emigrants that Canada receives. Physically and featureally they are a magnificent race. . . . Their intellectual level is quite on an average with the emigrants from Great Britain . . ."—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

becoming the capital of Polish Galicia, and Lemberg remaining to the Ukraine.

III

IN HUNGARY

The Ukrainians of Hungary, also, like their countrymen of Galicia and Bukovina, commonly called Ruthenians, being unable to formulate and voice their own requests, we demand in their name :—

That the Royal Hungarian Government give up the system of Magyarisation of its Ruthenian population by means of the churches and schools, which have been given into the hands of Ukrainian renegades who have become Magyars.

Memorandum on the Ukrainian Question

BY

YAROSLAV FEDORTCHOUK

THE Ukrainian nation is politically divided between European Russia and Austria-Hungary. Extensive Ukrainian colonies are also to be found in Canada, the U.S.A., Brazil, the Argentine, and Siberia. In Russia there are thirty million Ukrainians, three and a half million in Galicia, three hundred thousand in Bukovina, half a million in Hungary, and about the same number in North and South America.

In Europe they inhabit a large territory extending from the Carpathian mountains along the Northern shore of the Black Sea to the region North of the Donets. In Galicia, Bukovina, and Hungary the Ukrainians are known under the local name of Ruthenes or Ruthenians. This enormous ethnographical mass is now very rapidly awakening to national consciousness. They are organising an appeal to all disinterested men; they wish to see public opinion enlightened as to the brutal tyranny which is being used against them to the shame of the whole of humanity.

The Ukraine enjoys the distinction of being the cradle of Russian history. The earliest records show Ukrainian principalities already fairly strongly organised and in close touch with Western civilization. Kiev was the political centre of the country. After two centuries of independence the incursions and attacks of various tribes prevented the formation of a powerful Ukrainian state. Their name in those days was Rusj. Gradually the political axis was displaced towards the North, the land of the Muscovites. Yet at the same time there still existed two strong

states of Galicia and Volhynia with their capitals of Halitch and Vladimir, which suffered in 1240 an invasion of the Tartar hordes. This weakened the country, which fell under the rule of Lithuania, while the Poles took possession of Galicia in 1340. In 1385 Lithuania united with Poland, and almost all the Ukrainian lands were found incorporated in the new Lithuanian and Polish State. Later on, in 1569, the Ukraine was completely detached from Lithuania, and Ukrainian lands became part of the Kingdom of Poland.

From that time dates the attempt to exterminate the Ukrainian nation. The Poles, belonging to the Roman Catholic Faith, have always hated the Ukrainians, who are Orthodox and Greek Catholics. The Ukrainians were not admitted to public offices; the electoral and civil rights enjoyed by the Poles were denied to them. The Ukrainian noblemen were from childhood forced to abandon their Orthodox Faith, their language, and their nationality, and were forced to become renegades. The Ukrainian people was thus betrayed by its own nobility and humbled by the Poles.

At the time of that tragic crisis there was a trace of organisation by a military association under the name of Cossacks, who were originally brought into existence for the sole purpose of defending the Ukrainian people against the oppressions of the Poles and the incursions of the Tartars.

Popular risings against the Polish yoke took place in 1625, 1630, 1635, and 1638-48. The terrible repressions provoked the exasperation of the people and prompted them to seek and to rely more and more upon the protection of the Cossacks, who, themselves, were incensed at the continuity of the Polish tyranny.

Thus arose the great revolt led by Bogdan Chmielnitzky, the most famous of the Ukrainian Hetmans. In order to strengthen his position he entered into an alliance with the Czar of Muscovy, placing himself under

the latter's protection by the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654. That treaty contained the express clause that the liberty and the laws of the Ukrainians should be respected, that the judges and high officers should be freely elected; that the Hetman should also be elected by the Cossacks, and that his election should merely be " communicated " to the Czar. The Hetmans and the army of the Zaporogian Cossacks reserved to themselves the right to hold diplomatic relations with foreign countries, without the intervention of the Czar. The Ukraine in its voluntary union with Muscovy, meant to maintain her independence, and was never to be submitted to the autocratic rule of the Czar.

Unfortunately the Ukrainians realised very soon that the Muscovite Government had no intention of respecting its sovereignty and autonomy. The antagonism, always great, increased still more, owing to the difference in culture of the two nations. The Ukrainians have always been inspired by democratic principles, while the Muscovites have been utterly impervious to progressive ideas. While schools were flourishing in the Ukraine, in Muscovy they had hardly even been talked of. The Ukrainians, assembled in 1658 in the town of Hadiatch, decided to break the bond with the Muscovites and to join the Poles under the following conditions: That the Ukraine be guaranteed the freedom of the Press; that the foundation of printing-presses be allowed everywhere; and that two Ukrainian Universities be founded, one of them in Kiev. Primary and secondary schools were not forgotten, and were to be created throughout the country. A treaty of this kind can nowhere be found in the records of International Law.

The Poles have never in their history kept their sworn word. In 1667, by the Treaty of Andrussov, they preferred to share the Ukraine with Muscovy. In 1681 a further partition took place, and Turkey also took her share. Exasperated, the Ukrainians rose in revolt and

made common cause with Charles XII. of Sweden, in order to deliver the Ukraine from the yoke of Muscovy and to constitute themselves once more an independent state. After the disastrous battle of Poltava, when Mazeppa and Charles XII. had to fly to Turkey (1709), Peter the Great began to suppress the power of the Ukrainian Hetmans. He forbade the publication of books in the Ukrainian language, and introduced slavery into the Ukraine, which up till then had remained free from it. Muscovy, however, had had slavery since Boris Godunoff, the Tartar ruler of the Great Russians. Peter the Great sent the Cossacks to the pestilent work of draining the swampy lands where he proposed to build his new capital, St. Petersburg. Other Ukrainians were thrown into prison or sent into exile in Siberia.

The Ukraine became a Muscovite province, and the Muscovite brutality was especially evinced against the intellectual independence of the Ukrainians. Their country was called Malorossia or Little Russia. In 1690, almost all the religious literature was suppressed, and in 1720 it became a criminal offence to publish new books in the Ukrainian language. Even the reprinting of old books was only allowed on condition that the Muscovite spelling was used.

In 1721 an order was given to send to the Synod all the books printed in the Ukraine, so that the text might be verified and to find out whether it conformed to the text of the Russian books. Ukrainian publications were subjected to censorship even in those days. In 1769, the Kiev printing press was denied the right to print any other alphabet but the Muscovite. In all the schools, especially at the Kiev Academy, the teaching was now given in the Muscovite or Great Russian language. In 1775, Catherine II. utterly destroyed the famous nest of the Cossacks, "The Sitch of the Zaporogians." In vain did the Ukrainians beg for a restitution of their social and administrative prerogatives of which the Treaty of Pere-

yaslav had guaranteed the inviolability. In 1767, when Catherine II. called together a Commission to formualte the new laws of the Empire, the delegates of the Ukraine pressed forward these claims, but without avail.

At the same time, on the right bank of the Dnieper, there was the other part of the Ukrainian people. They also suffered much under the Polish domination. They revolted in 1734 and 1738. Thus towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Ukraine found herself deprived of all her liberties. Following the second partition of Poland in 1793, Podolia, Volhynia, and the Government of Kiev fell to Russia. This change was not favourable to the Ukraine, for they fared even worse. Not only was the yoke of the Polish noblemen not removed by the Russian Government, but at the same time the Russification was brought to bear on the most intimate points of the Ukrainian national life; upon their religion, their literature, and their schools. This double yoke of Poles and Russians caused that part of the country to become the most ignorant of the Ukraine.

But the soul of revolt can never be altogether crushed. In 1846-7 a few Ukrainian intellectuals set up in Kiev one of the first secret political organisations of modern times: "The Confrerie of Saints Cyril and Methodius." Its aim was to free the Slav nations and to make them all independent and confederate under the protection of Russia. It aimed at the abolition of serfdom, privileges, and corporal punishment; and demanded also liberty of thought and religion and of public speech. Denounced, the members were deported by administrative measures. The sequel to this was most unfortunate. For many years the intellectual activity of the Ukraine was altogether suspended.

Following the unhappy result of the Crimean War, a Liberal breath blew for a while over Russia. The Government abolished serfdom, and started a few social reforms. The Ukrainians benefited by the favourable situation, and

took to organising themselves again. The Ukrainian theatre was authorised, popular Sunday lectures in the Ukrainian language were allowed, and even a few school books were published in Ukrainian. This activity soon frightened the great Polish landlords, who pretended to fear an agrarian revolt of the peasants; they denounced the movement, although it was a wholly intellectual one. At their instigation the Russian Government closed the Ukranian schools, deported all the chiefs of the movement, and, in order to have done for ever with the Ukrainian question, the Government declared in 1863 by a Circular of the Minister of the Interior, Count Valueff, that "the Ukrainian language and nationality had never existed and would never exist." It went even so far as to pretend that the Ukrainian language was a corruption of the Russian, which is exactly the reverse of the truth. All the books published in Ukrainian were proscribed; not in any way because of their possible contents or subject, but simply because they were printed in the Ukrainian language. A small exception was made for what the Russian Government called *belles lettres*, but, apart from these, the censorship was carried out in such a manner that no book whatever could be published, not even popular books or those for the use of children. In order to escape the Russian censorship the Ukrainian authors and publicists turned to Galicia in the Austrian Empire where they were able to pursue their scientific and literary work.

After 1870 the censorship in Russia was less hard for Ukrainian publications. The Government even authorised the foundation in Kiev of a South Western Section of the Imperial Geographical Society, whose activities were especially to be the subject of local ethnography. But in spite of that show of scientific activity, the Government grew nervous and expressed the fear that in allowing the development of the language and the literature of the Ukraine it was really a *separatist* Ukrainian movement that was being fostered, and the Society of Geography in

Kiev was closed in 1876. At the same time there appeared a secret ordinance, signed by Alexander II. at Ems, the text of which was as follows :—

" The Emperor has graciously deigned to order :—

(1) The importation into the Empire, without special permission from the Supervisor of the Press, of books of any kind printed in the Ukrainian language is now forbidden.

(2) The printing and publication in the Empire of original works or translations in that same tongue are forbidden, with the exception of historical documents and literary works. This, however, only on condition that the historical documents preserve strictly the original spelling and that the literary works preserve the Russian spelling. The publication of Ukrainian books cannot appear without previous examination of the manuscripts and without the authorisation of the ' Superior Direction of Press Affairs.'

(3) All kinds of Ukrainian plays and lectures, as well as the printing of Ukrainian books for musical composition, are forbidden."

Such is the astounding piece of jurisdiction, a monument of the barbarity of Russian politics.

It was the death sentence of the Ukrainian literature which was thus put *hors la loi*. In 1881 these rigorous measures of censorship were slightly mitigated, but the admission of work written in Ukrainian and published in Galicia was forbidden, the literature and the language still considered illegal. At this moment Russia was traversing a period of revolutionary trouble. The Ukrainian youth took their share in the struggle, which was to bring amelioration in the situation of the Ukraine. The legal manifestation which took place in the course of the Archæological Congresses in 1899, 1902, and 1905 exercised also considerable influence upon the propaganda of the Ukrainian movement.

The Academy of St. Petersburg, invited by the Council

of Ministers to give its advice upon the Ukrainian question, reached the following conclusions :—

" The decrees of the Government which have fettered the free development of the Ukrainian literature have brought about this result, that that literature has been introduced into Galicia, where it has sought refuge, and has become at the same time hostile to Russia. These measures of repression have provoked the dissatisfaction of the enlightened classes of the Ukraine, and have most deeply damaged the interest of its rural population, who are not acquainted as a rule with the Russian language.

" The Academy is therefore of opinion that the decrees of 1863, 1876, and 1881 are not in agreement with the fundamental Russian laws, and propose consequently their repeal, having acquired the absolute certainty that the Ukrainians must be placed on a footing of equality with the Russians and have the right to speak publicly and to write in their own mother tongue."

The laws dealing with the periodical publications, which were promulgated in 1905 in Russia, afforded the Ukrainians the chance to found newspapers and reviews in their own national language. They asked also for permission to use it in the popular schools and in the high schools. The Ukrainians started at the same time many societies, called " Prosvita," to promote popular education, with libraries, reading-rooms, concert halls, and book shops. They published a large number of popular books, which greatly contributed to the development of the national idea. The Government followed with malevolence this growing organisation, and closed its branches under the pretext that all Ukrainian intellectual work was dangerous to the security of the State. The late M. Stolypin signed an ordinance ordering the immediate closing of all societies started by Russian subjects *who did not belong to the Russian nationality*, this being especially directed against Jews and Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians were not altogether displeased at this

order, which showed them that the Czarist Government was at last admitting that they formed a nationality apart, foreign to that of Russia.

Thanks to a perverse construction placed upon the electoral suffrage, the Ukrainian representation in the Duma is non-existent. Many a time has the Duma rejected the demand that Ukrainian language be introduced in the popular schools. A narrow-minded and harsh supervision has been exercised incessantly over the Ukrainian Press. The record of punishment of the Press in the whole of Russia is held by the Governor of Kiev, who, in the year 1913 alone, inflicted on forty-one newspapers an aggregate fine of 10,125 roubles, confiscated five newspapers, and arrested fourteen editors. Next to him comes the Governor of Kherson, also in the Ukraine, who signed orders for aggregate fines of 5700 roubles, spread over thirty-one newspapers, eight confiscations, and the arrest of two editors. The third place belongs to the Governor of Kharkov, who ordered thirteen fines forming a total of 4700 roubles, thirteen confiscations, the suppression of one newspaper, and the arrest of five editors. This shows well enough that the Ukrainian territory suffers more than any other part of Russia from the persecution of the Press.

A curious fact took place during the Russo-Japanese War which showed the Russian Government in a ridiculous light. During that war the Ukrainians applied for permission to distribute to the soldiers of Ukrainian nationality who were serving in Asia the New Testament in the Ukrainian language, which had been issued by the British and Foreign Bible Association. The Government refused point blank. The same request was made to the Japanese General Nogi, who received it favourably. Thus the Ukrainian soldiers had to become prisoners of the Japanese before they could read the Gospels in their own language, and yet some people ask on what side was the culture! To-day the oppression of the Ukrainian movement knows no longer any limit. There has been

found an official in the censor's office of Kiev to publish a book libelling the Ukrainians in order to excite the Government, the gendarmes and the local administrations to a concerted attempt at crushing the movement. The Russian Nationalist Party, which is largely composed of Ukrainian renegades, has declared a pitiless war on the Ukrainian movement. It even carries on an active Russophile propaganda in Galicia, pretending to see in the latter a Ukrainian Piedmont. Their efforts have succeeded in obtaining that, in the libraries of the schools, which depend either from the Ministry, the Church, or the Zemstvo, all the books in Ukrainian are forbidden. The teachers punish the children when they dare to exchange words in their mother tongue. The Ukrainian national songs are also forbidden. The newspapers, especially the copies sent to the Ukrainian peasants, are purely and simply confiscated. Authority is denied to hold public meetings if the Ukrainian language is to be used; the very fact of speaking Ukrainian in the street causes one to be considered a suspect by the Russian police. Posters in Ukrainian are, of course, also forbidden.

The first Centenary of Tarass Shevshenko, the great Ukrainian poet and patriot, falls in 1914. The Ukrainians were preparing worthily to honour his memory and to erect several monuments to him, notably one in Kiev; but they had not reckoned with the Government. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Maklakoff, sent a circular to the Governors and the Prefects of the provinces to the effect that in view of the forthcoming celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian national poet Shevshenko, they are stringently to enforce the prohibition of public festivities by Ukrainians and to interdict the naming after Shevshenko of any streets, schools, or scholarships. The inauguration of buildings and statues is not to be made the occasion of any festivity and all public gatherings are forbidden.

By this circular the Russian Government reminds

European public opinion that in the Empire there exists a nation of thirty million souls which is deprived of its most elementary rights and to which it is forbidden to pay homage to its national geniuses and heroes.

It is but a few years ago that the Russian bureaucracy refused to register the statutes of a society which had been formed to take care of the tomb of Shevshenko. Persecuted throughout his life by the Russian régime and deported to the disciplinary batallions, Shevshenko is not even left alone after his death, his very tomb is disturbed, the crime of having written his poems in the Ukrainian language is not yet forgiven, but his name and his famous Testament are sacred to the Ukrainians. The fact that the Government places itself to-day between the people and their favourite poet, proves its antagonism to culture. The struggle led by the Ukrainian people is a struggle for modern civilisation and for its threatened culture. This struggle must interest the whole civilised world. To the Ukrainians, deprived of their rights, this circular of Mr. Maklakoff can but serve as a reminder that the Russian Empire is not their State.

We have then the Ukrainians of Russia threatened with the complete loss of their nationality. Let us now consider the other Ukrainians, those who belong to Austria-Hungary. They were organised in the Principality of Halitch until 1349, when the King of Poland put them under subjection. The documents of that time show that that region abounded in all the riches of the soil. It was well organised, had a powerful aristocracy and reached towns whose merchants carried on an extensive trade with both the East and the West. In the economic and intellectual fields that country was ahead of Poland. Ever since that time the Ukrainians or Ruthenians have been under the " protection " of the Poles and have received the benefit of their " civilising mission " as the Poles like to put it. For five hundred years they have remained under the brutal Polish domination. Since 1772 they have

belonged to Austria, but, as a matter of fact, they have remained under Polish "patronage."

What has taken place in the country since it passed under the domination of Austria? When Galicia fell to Austria in 1772 it was poor and backward, as we can read in the report of the first Austrian Governor of Galicia, Count Anton Perghen. There was no longer any industry or trade; the town swarmed with hungry Jews, the peasants were ruined, the clergy almost illiterate, and the Polish noblemen hardly civilised! What do we see to-day? Galicia has now belonged to Austria for one hundred and forty years. What do we see in that unfortunate country? What is the result of that vaunted civilising mission of the Poles? It is the poorest and most forsaken part of Europe; it has no industry or trade. Hunger causes fearful ravages, the peasants earn fivepence for a day's work for their Polish landlord; the number of illiterates is beyond reckoning. It is a country notorious for its corrupt administration, a country *hors la loi*, notorious again for its wretchedness, it epidemics, the brutality of its electoral methods, and the ill-treatment inflicted on the Ruthenian school children. Such is the condition under which the Ruthenians have remained for more than five hundred years under the influence of the so-called Polish mission, which is nothing but a brutal system of Polonisation.

The Austrian Government, after its occupation of Galicia, attempted the task of helping the Ruthено-Ukrainains to organise themselves. They limited the power which the great Polish landowners exercised over their Ruthenian serfs; they opened Ruthenian schools and gave them a first bishopric of their own. Maria Theresa and Joseph II. founded two ecclesiastical seminaries for the Ruthenians, as well as a university in Lemberg where a few chairs were reserved for courses in the Ukrainian language. During the revolution of 1848 the Austrian Government sought, against the Poles and the Hungarians,

the support of the Ruthenians, and promised them the division of Galicia into two parts nationally distinct, the introduction of teaching in the Ukrainian language throughout their own schools, and finally the enfranchisement of the peasants from a state of serfdom.

Having crushed the revolution the Government abolished serfdom, but took no further notice of the other Ruthenian claim. The Poles extended in the meantime their hold over Galicia, and in 1873 they made a secret compact with the Government, which assured them the supremacy in Galicia. The Government appointed to the Cabinet a Polish minister without portfolio, who is dependent entirely upon the Polish deputies and is responsible to them. Thus, without any constitutional decision and without the sanction of Parliament, the Poles have been granted a Polish minister who represents the Polish interests in Galicia. *The Ruthenians are regarded as being a part of the Polish nation*, and subject to the sovereignty of the Poles.

The Ruthenians of Austria are treated as a second-rate nationality, and the Poles exploit their privileged position, denouncing the Ruthenians as Russophiles and enemies of Austria-Hungary. The Emperor, Francis Joseph, remained throughout his life under the influence of the Polish noblemen, who calumniated the Ukrainian movement and denounced it as dangerous to the security of the State. The Poles, who pass as great friends of Austria, are authorised to watch over the Ruthenians. All the economic forces of the province are utilised by the Poles to weaken the Ruthenians, to maintain them in a state of subjection and of economic, intellectual, and political inferiority. The Austrian Government have a secret fund at their disposal, and have dispensed during the last seven years four million krönen to help the Polish deputies against the Ruthenian deputies. The Governor of Galicia, Bobrzynski, did not hide the fact that during the last elections he spent only 1,100,000 krönen while his pre-

decessor had spent 1,300,000. Such facts are but an episode illustrating the corruption of political life in Austria. The Governmental majority in Parliament rests upon the delegates of the great nationalities, while the smaller nationalities are handed over to the others to be exterminated. For the slightest criticism of this intolerable situation the Ruthenian newspapers are confiscated by order of the Polish judges. From the political domain of the autonomy of the country the Ruthenians are excluded, not having even the right to defend themselves against the Polish majority either in the Permanent Council of the Province or in the local Diet.

From the administrative point of view the Ruthenian language is hardly tolerated, in spite of all the laws which guarantee the use of that language in all the provincial and Governmental departments.

In the intellectual domain it is enough to consider the Ruthenian scholastic situation. The Poles have fifty-one official secondary schools of their own; the Ruthenians five. Of real Polish schools there are fourteen, while the Ruthenians have none. There are seventeen training colleges for Polish teachers and for the so-called Polono-Ruthenians (as a matter of fact, they are all Poles); the Ruthenians have none of their own. The Poles have two commercial institutes; the Ruthenians have none. The Poles have seven official industrial schools; the Ruthenians have none. The Poles have eighty supplementary industrial schools; the Ruthenians have none. The Poles have eighteen agricultural schools; the Ruthenians have none. As to the high schools, this is how they stand:—

Having 5 forms—Poles,	82	Ruthenians, 0
Having 6 forms—Poles,	113	Ruthenians, 0
Having 8 forms—Poles,	102	Ruthenians, 0

In Austria the education is free and compulsory, and is given in the mother tongue of each nationality. We see therefore the shameful results of the Polish policy

which refuses the right to be taught in their mother tongue to the Ruthenians *who constitute, moreover, according to the statistics of the Poles themselves, 42.02 per cent. of the total population of Galicia.* The Poles have imposed on the Ruthenians, in their elementary schools, the obligation of learning Polish, which is a real penance to the Ukrainian boy or girl. The Polish statistics of the schools hide the truth upon this point, since they give neither detailed figures of the school children, nor their nationality, nor their religion. Nor do those statistics state the number of the national schools on the basis of type of school and number of classes. Otherwise the position of the Ruthenian schools would be too obvious. It was therefore necessary to prevent the accuracy of the statistics.

There were in Galicia 5391 elementary schools, of which 2457 were Ruthenian and 2909 Polish—say the Polish statisticians. They conveniently forget to take into consideration the fact that there are in Galicia schools of different types. There are schools which have but one class, and others which have two, three, four, and as many as eight classes. While the Ruthenian schools are exclusively confined to one or two classes, which is an inferior type of school, the Poles have secondary schools composed of no less than four classes. The Polish statistics are silent upon this point, and establish comparisons between the schools of different types.

These elementary schools of one or two classes are almost valueless to the Ukrainians. Moreover, the Ruthenian schoolboys who leave the village elementary school are refused the right to enter the Polish secondary school in the town.

Another danger which threatens the Ukrainian school children is the number of Polish teachers in the Ruthenian schools. We have had examples of the brutality of those teachers who flog Ruthenian boys, sometimes beating them to death, merely because they have the courage to affirm that they belong to the Ukrainian nation. It is the same

with the secondary schools. There is one Ruthenian secondary school for every 681,556 Ruthenians, while the Polish school is but for every 49,753. The Board of Education or School Council of the Province is composed of 27 Polish jingoes and 5 Ruthenians, who are, of course, unable to resist such a crushing majority.

The Ukrainians demand, therefore, the division of the School Council into two parts- Polish and Ruthenian - so as to bring to an end the unfair system of Polish education for the Ruthenians. The Poles have also the advantage of a Hakatist Law of 1867, which forbids the erection of any secondary school unless it has the sanction of the Diet. The Polish schools of the same degree can, on the other hand, dispense with this formality; their opening is subject to a decree of the Minister for Public Education, who need not seek the authorisation of the Diet. These two unconstitutional measures are obviously directed against the Ukrainians, and the privilege they confer upon the Poles stands to the shame of the Austrian Government who tolerate it. There is a second Hakatist Law of 1907, according to which neither public nor private training colleges can exist if they have a Ruthenian character and cannot deliver valid documents.

No less serious is the question of the Lemberg University. It was founded in 1784 by the Emperor Joseph II., and was destined for the Ruthenians. The teaching which was previously delivered there in German was to be henceforth delivered in Ukrainian. Gradually professors were found able to deliver the course in Ruthenian. In 1848 the Ruthenians obtained two Chairs at the Lemberg University. At that period there was yet no question of the Polish language there. In 1862 two more Ruthenian Chairs were created, the other courses being still delivered in German. The Poles took advantage of the privileged situation in the province, and benefited from the imperial rescript of 1871, which replaced the teaching in German by teaching in the two languages of the Province. The

Poles took possession of all the Chairs for their countrymen, leaving none to the Ruthenians. They even tried to take away the Ruthenian Chairs already existing.

Owing to the development of the Ruthenian culture, the situation was becoming intolerable in the University, and in 1890 an open struggle began.

All the Ruthenian students left the Lemberg University. The Austrian Government declared itself prepared to create in Lemberg a University apart for the Ruthenians on condition that the Polish consent should be obtained. The Lemberg Town Council at a solemn sitting refused to sanction the creation of a Ruthenian University in the town. The same Council refused to assign a place in the town where the Ruthenians could raise a monument to their greatest patriot and poet, Tarass Shevshenko. The Senate of the University and the Polish students declared that they would never allow he setting up of a Ruthenian University in Lemberg. The conflict, which broke out in the University, brought about the death of a Ukrainian student, who was struck by a bullet from a revolver belonging to a Polish student. The police arrested three hundred Ruthenian students, while not one Pole was molested. The Courts of the Province, being in Polish hands, were led by their hatred of the Ruthenians.

Following the Prussian methods of colonisation, the great Polish landlords, who own land in the Ruthenian part of Galicia, dare not sell their land to the Ruthenian peasants. When they do they are considered as traitors and are boycotted by the Poles, the Polish motto being: "Not a foot of ground to the Ruthenians." The Ruthenian peasants, the proletariat of the agricultural life, are obliged to work, for a miserable pittance, the Ruthenian ground, which constitutes the domains of the Polish noblemen. They are shamefully exploited, and in case of resistance or boycott they are treated like bandits; they are chained, flogged, brought barefooted to the town prisons, and finally sentenced.

In order to find more humane conditions, the Ruthenian peasants seek work in Germany, where they are better treated and better paid. The local administration of Galicia, which is controlled by the Poles, does everything in its power to prevent the Ruthenian workers leaving the country and earning German money. The Poles accuse the Ruthenians of being traitors to the Slav cause, because they send their workers to Germany, where the Polish workers are rejected; they wax angry at the Ruthenian workers earning money where once the Polish workers did. This temporary emigration exerts a great influence over Ruthenian workers who never have the opportunity at home under their Polish landlords to become acquainted with the higher culture of German lands. When they return home they put to good use what they have learnt abroad, and improve their lot. This emigration has therefore continued year after year, and the Ukrainian economic organisations do their best to send abroad the greatest possible number of peasants. This Rutheno-German entente is most distasteful to the Poles, who denounce it everywhere, complaining that the Ruthenians have united with Germans who are the secular enemies of the Poles. But the national duty of the Ukrainian intellectuals is to see that the peasants, who form the basis of the Ukrainian nation, increase their economic and cultural standard, even if they must go to Germany for that purpose, since it is not possible in Galicia. And the Poles, who breathe hatred of Ruthenians, use the same Hakatist means against the latter which are used by the Germans against the Poles of Posnanie, and which date back many years. These same Poles affect intense surprise, and are displeased at the fact that the Ruthenians wish to get rid at all cost of the Polish "tutelage."

The representation of the Ukrainian nation in Parliament includes, since 1907, the twenty-eight members from Galicia (26.4 per cent.). One Ruthenian member repre-

sents 110,000 inhabitants. The Poles having seventy-eight members (73.6 per cent.), each Polish member represents 51,000 Polish inhabitants. The Province of Bukovina sends five Ruthenian members to the same Vienna Parliament.

In the Lemberg Diet the electoral law of 1861 granted the Ruthenians forty-seven deputies, that is 33.33 per cent. To-day, after the compromise arrived at between the poles and Ruthenians, the latter will have only 27.2 per cent.; that is 62 Ruthenian deputies out of a total number of 228 deputies in the Diet. In Bukovina the Ruthenians have but 17 deputies of their own, in spite of their numerical superiority, while the Roumanians have twenty-three.

On February 14th, 1914, a scheme of electoral reform for the Lemberg Diet was passed, but does not constitute, properly speaking, a Rutheno-Polish agreement. It does not remove the Polish domination, which weighs heavily upon the Ukrainians and deprives them of all political independence. The struggle will be carried on according to circumstances, and more or less bitterly in proportion to the degree of Polish resistance against the gradual emancipation of the Ukrainians from the Polish political supremacy. The Ukrainians residing in Russia cast a longing eye over the border towards their compatriots in Galicia, for they envy the progress achieved there. The Russian Government dislikes intensely this expansion of the Ukrainian movement in Austria, where the Ukrainians are admitted to the political administration of their country, and where they continue to fight for their national autonomy. For many centuries the Polish Republic refused to recognise the existence of a distinct Ukrainian nationality. To-day the Poles find themselves in the presence of a *fait accompli*. They must needs bow before the evidence that the Ukrainian nationality is freeing itself from their domination.

The new electoral reform of February, 1914, has not

changed the old forms of the Curiæ, in spite of the Ruthenian demand for electoral reform based upon the democratic principle of universal suffrage.

The reformed Diet will be composed of 228 members, thirteen being *virilist* members and 213 elected.

The virilists are composed of the bishops and university rectors.

The 213 elected members will be elected in six curiæ, as follows :—

I. In the first curia the great Polish landowners will have forty-five representatives, the Ruthenians one.

II. The tax-payers of the towns will elect forty-six members, six seats being allotted to the Ruthenians.

III. In the same towns twelve members, three of whom will be Ruthenians, are to be elected by universal and plural voting.

IV. Chambers of Commerce and Industry will elect five deputies.

V. The small shopkeepers of Lemberg and Cracow will elect two members.

VI. The villages will elect one hundred and five members, of whom forty-eight at least will be Ruthenians.

In curiæ I., II., IV., and V. will vote the tax-payers who pay a certain minimum amount, which is different in each curia. Women will also vote in these. In curiæ III. and VI. the suffrage will be universal, secret and plural. The plural vote will be enjoyed by those who had the right of voting prior to the agreement ; they will have two votes.

In Ruthenian, that is Eastern, Galicia fourteen double electoral districts have been created, one destined to the Ruthenian majority, the other to the Polish minority. Moreover, purely Polish electoral districts have been artificially formed by the reunion of the Polish villages scattered among the Ruthenian villages, so much so that the plan of the electoral districts of Ruthenian Galicia looks like a chess-board.

In Western Galicia, that is the Polish half of the pro-

vince, each district has a member to itself. In Eastern Galicia the Poles have taken pains to save the Polish minorities. This electoral reform of February, 1914, guarantees to an infinitesimal Polish minority, which inhabits Ukrainian soil, an aggregate of eighty-seven Polish seats against sixty-two for the Ruthenians. On their own territory the Ruthenians are reduced to a minority in the representation. Yet in Eastern Galicia they are in a majority 58.6 per cent., according to the mock statistics of the Poles, in reality 70 per cent. Such is the agreement due to the so-called kindness of the Poles for their fellow-Slavs.

In the Diet Commissions the Ruthenians will have 27.2 per cent., elected only by the Ruthenian members. The Ruthenian representation in the Diet will have the right to nominate two Ruthenian members from the eight who constitute the Permanent Commission of the province. The Poles strongly opposed the Ruthenian demand for a seat of their own in Lemberg; it was only after much hesitation that they consented to the creation of a Ruthenian electoral district by uniting the capital with a little neighbouring town, Kulikov. The Ruthenians will also have a deputy-Marshal. Such are the contents of the " benevolent " Polish concessions.

The Poles have, at the same time, promised the Ukrainians that they will no longer oppose the foundation of the Ukrainian university, but they took great care not to state where that university is to be opened. They dared not utter the name of Lemberg, since the town council has formally declared against tolerating a Ukrainian university in Lemberg. As I said, a few years ago the same Lemberg council refused a site demanded by the Ukrainians for the erection of a monument to Shevshenko. Even now this same town council, at the time when the Ukrainians are celebrating the centenary of the birth of their great national poet, refused to let the Polish theatre of Lemberg for a concert in honour of Shevshenko. A

strange result truly of the compromise which had just been signed.

It remains for us to treat of the half million Ruthenians who inhabit the land of St. Stephen. The Magyar brutal treatment of the Ruthenians forced the latter to seek a new religious orientation. We witness to-day an important political trial against ninety-four Ruthenian peasants accused of "subversive behaviour against the Greek Catholic Church and against the Hungarian nation." Also of "agitation against the territorial integrity of the Hungarian State and against the sovereign rights of the King of Hungary." The trial began on December 29th, 1913, at Marmaros-Sziget in High Hungary, and lasted exactly fifty days. Judgment was pronounced on February 18th. The principal accused, the Monk Kabaluk, was sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment and a fine of 1000 krönen. Thirty accused were sentenced to periods ranging from six months to two and a half years, and to fines ranging from 50 to 100 krönen. The others were acquitted. During that trial there was heard as a witness the notorious Russian political freebooter, Count Vladimir Bobrinsky, one of the chiefs of the Russian Nationalists, known in England through some articles and letters published in 1912 and 1913 in the London Press, in which he attempted to mislead public opinion in this country as to the position of the Orthodox Ruthenians in Galicia and Hungary. There are practically no Orthodox Ruthenians in Galicia or Hungary. If there are any they are men who have fallen under the Russophile influence of the Russian Nationalists, who mostly went to Galicia and Hungary as military spies.

It is the nationalist policy of the Hungarian Government which has contributed as much as anything to creating the present situation.

The Ruthenian peasants, threatened in their national existence, wanted to escape the brutal Magyarisation which was carried out by means of the schools and the churches.

The Hungarian Government should give up its system of oppression of the Ruthenians and give them the legal possibility of developing themselves upon a truly national Ukrainian basis. The Ruthenian intellectuals of Hungary, instead of working on behalf of their fellow-countrymen, enter the service of their Magyar enemies.

Cannot you hear a growing murmur that comes from Eastern Europe? To-morrow it will be the roar of a giant awakened. Drugged, manacled, the giant slept on; now he is preparing to throw off his fetters, and they will fall from him with thunder. The gaolers look on astounded but powerless to bring him to his knees again. This giant is the Ukraine, who, having been robbed by the enemies of her national soul, awakens from her long sleep. She faces the future with confidence, strong in the knowledge that she will win back her emancipation.

APPENDIX

Marlborough and a Crown

BY

GEORGE RAFFALOVICH

Reprinted from "The Commentator,"
February 12th and 19th, 1913.

Marlborough and a Crown

DURING the last two years several letters have appeared in the London Press, in which the present lack of English works dealing with the country and people of the Ukraine was contrasted with the interest displayed in the affairs of that country by English writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reason for the difference is not far to seek. In the seventeenth century the Ukraine was still an autonomous State, and the country and its people were of no small importance in the affairs of Europe. At the present day, or, more truly, until within quite recent times, the very fact of the existence of Ukraine and the Ukrainians was forgotten, having been suppressed by the Great Russian conquerors of the country. The publication of an article on Ukrainian peasant art in the autumn number (1912) of the *Studio*, and several articles in various periodicals, have undone the secret work of suppression in so far as English-speaking countries are concerned.

From early times it has been the fate of the Ukraine to be attacked and overrun by ambitious neighbours. Devastated by the Tartars in the thirteenth century, the country fell under the rule of the Lithuanian princes in the fourteenth. But the Ukrainians did not lose their nationality in consequence; they imposed it rather on the Lithuanian invaders. Towards the close of the following century they had to fight against the inroads of the Turks. In order to save themselves from these invaders, Ukraine and Lithuania allied themselves with Poland, an alliance which had little advantage for the Ukrainians. The history of the struggles between Poles and Ukrainians dates from the time of the alliance. The Poles gave themselves the airs of masters of the country, and it is small wonder that the history of the Ukrainian people in the first half

of the seventeenth century resolves itself into a history of ceaseless revolts against the Poles. The people of the Ukraine have always been lovers of liberty and brave fighters. As early as the fourteenth century associations of warriors formed themselves to defend the liberties of their oppressed countrymen against the aggressors. In 1516 these warriors are said to have first adopted the name of Cossacks,* a name the origin of which has been explained in various ways. The work Cossack became famous, and it was used by West European writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to designate all the inhabitants of the Ukraine.

The affairs of the country were, as has been remarked, not without their importance in the general history of Europe, and even in the north-western limit of Europe, in England, a lively interest in this south-eastern extremity of the continent was displayed. It is possible to trace the history of the revolts of the heroic Chmielnitsky, Hetman of the Cossacks from 1649 till 1654, against the Polish oppressors of his country, in the English newspapers of the time, which usually contained a good deal of foreign intelligence from various countries. We read, for example, in the *Mercurius Politicus* of July 3rd-10th, 1651 : " From Stetin in Pomerania, 8th June. They write that the Cossacks have met some part of the *Polish* Forces coming from *Lublin* and *Quarnikow*, that were marching to the King's Army, whom they engaged and routed. But on the other side, that Prince *Ratziwil*, from *Littaw*, is falne into the *Cosacks* Countrey, called Ukrain, and hath taken the chief city thereof, called Kiew : But hereof is no certainty." For December 11th-18th, 1651 : " Stetin the 4th of December. The Peace between the Polands and Cossacks we have confirmed, and the Cossacks are to restore all the places they have taken ; the revolted countrymen to give themselves under their Lords obedience again ; and

* Engel, " Geschichte der Ukraine und der Cossaken," p. 53.

the Cossacks are to send their agents to his Majesty at the general meeting to give thanks for the received mercy of him. All the nobility and citizens of the Polands, that had kept correspondence with the Cossacks shall be pardoned, and their goods be restituted to them again; and for great joy hereof, they made great show in the Armies and chief Towns, by shooting off their Cannon, etc." For March 16th-23rd, 1654: "From Dantzick, March 7th, S.N. The news out of *Poland* is, that the *Cossacks* have agreed with the *Muscovite*, and to secure him their fidelity, are to deliver him three Earldoms, if it be not a report raised by the Court to further the agreement with the *Cossacks*, as to procure more large contributions, which a little time will shew." These are but a few extracts chosen from among many.

In 1672 there appeared a translation, by Edward Brown, of a French book, entitled "Histoire de la Guerre des Cosaques contre la Pologne, avec un discours de leur origine, Pays, Mœurs, Gouvernement et Religion, et un autre des Tartares Precopites." The author of this book, Pierre Chevalier, who had travelled in Poland, borrowed some of the information contained in it from a more celebrated work by Guillaume la Vasseur, Seigneur de Beauplan, which appeared in 1651 under the name of "Description des Contrées du Royaume de Pologne, contenuës depuis les confins de la Moscovie jusques aux limites de la Transilvanie." A translation of Beauplan's account appeared in 1732 in the "Collection of Voyages and Travels," by J. and A. Churchill. As is remarked in the preface to this translation, "The Sieur de Beauplan, author of this small account, had a long time to make himself perfect in it, having serv'd, as he tells us, seventeen years in the Ukraine, as ingineer to the King of Poland." Beauplan also drew a large map of the Ukraine, a copy of which is included in the great atlas presented by the Dutch Government to Charles II. of England.

Another map of the country, by Jansen, was published at Oxford in 1680.

It is interesting, by the way, to note that the earliest grammar of the Ukrainian language, in Latin and Ukrainian, is said to have been published in Oxford in the sixteenth century.

Brown's translation of Chevalier's work is called " A Discourse of the Original, Country, Manners, Government, and Religion of the Cossacks, with another of the Precopian Tartars, and the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland." It carries the history of the wars as far as the peace arranged in September, 1651, at Biak-Szerkiew (cf., *Mercurius Politicus* for December 11th-18th, 1651, quoted above). The first part of the work contains the following description of the Ukraine :—" The Countrey inhabited by the *Cossacks* is called Ukrain, which signifies the Frontier; it extends itself beyond *Volhinia* and *Podolia*, and maketh a part of the Palatinates of *Kievia* and *Brachaw*. Some years since they made themselves masters of these Provinces, and of part of *black Russia*, which they have been forced to quit. This Countrey lieth between the 51 and 48 degrees of Latitude, below which there is nothing but desert Plains as far as the *Black Sea*, which on one hand are extended to the *Danube*, and on the other to *Palus Maeotis*, the grass of which Countrey groweth to an incredible length. *Ukrain* is very fruitful, and so is Russia and Podolia, and if the Earth be never so little cultivated, it produceth all sort of grain so plentifully, that the inhabitants know not for the most part what to doe with it." The author thus describes the unhappy lot of the Ukrainian people under their Polish and Jewish oppressors : —" The Peasants in *Ukrain* and the neighbouring Provinces are like Slaves, the same as they are in almost all places of *Poland*, being forced to work three or four days in the week for their Landlords, and are charged besides with many other duties, as of Corn and Fowl, for the Lands which they hold, and to pay the

Tenth of Sheep and Hogs, and all Fruit, and to carry Wood and doe divers other days works; add to this the ill-treatment which they receive from the Jews, who are Farmers of the Noblemen's Lands, and who before the wars did exact all these Duties with a great deal of rigor; and besides that had Farmed out the Brewing of Beer, and the making of Strong-waters, so that we need not wonder so much at their frequent revolting, and that in these last wars they disputed and defended their liberty with so much obstinacy; for this severe servitude hath disclosed all these brave *Zaporowski Cossacks*, whose number is much increased of late years, through the despair into which the severity of the Gentlemen and the Jews cast the people of this Frontier, which hath constained them to seek their liberties, or the end of their miseries among the rest."

Their character is then described:—"The inhabitants of *Ukrain*, who are all at present called *Cossacks*, and glory in carrying that name, are of a good stature, active, strong, and dexterous in what they doe, liberal, and little caring to gather Riches, great lovers of Liberty, and that cannot suffer any yoak; unwearied, bold and brave . ." The translator begins his Preface by remarking:—"Although *Ukraine* be one of the most remote Regions of Europe, and the *Cossackian* name very Modern, yet hath that Countrey been of late the Stage of *Glorious Actions*, and the Inhabitants have acquitted themselves with as great Valour in *Martial Affairs* as any Nation whatsoever; so that this and other Motives have made me earnest to put this account of it into English, where it cannot be otherwise than acceptable, since the Description of a Countrey little written of, and the atchievements of a daring People, must needs be grateful to those who, of all the World, are the most curious and inquisitive, and the greatest lovers of bold Attempts and Bravery. . . . Nor can this short *Treatise* be unseasonable, since most have their eyes upon this Countrey at present; and it is

already feared that the Turks or Tartars should make their Inroads this Summer into *Poland* through *Ukraine*, scarce a *Gazette* without mentioning something of it;* and our preparations in the Western Parts will probably, at the same time, be accompanied with great attempts upon the most Eastern Frontiers of Europe."

If Brown's assertion that " most English people have their eyes upon this Countrey at present " was true when he wrote, it came near to being more emphatically so in the early years of the eighteenth century. By this time Ukraine, which had allied itself with Muscovy against Poland in 1654, on the understanding that its independence was to be respected, had fallen into the power of the Muscovite Tsars. Peter the Great, after having been at war with Charles XII. of Sweden for some years, was anxious to make peace with that monarch, but only on terms advantageous to himself, namely, on condition of his receiving a part of the east side of the Baltic seaboard, which at that time belonged to Sweden. He hoped to be able to secure an advantageous peace through the mediation of England, and with this end in view he sent Matveéw, his Ambassador at the Hague, to London towards the end of the year 1706 to try and persuade the British Government to act the part of mediator. Matveéw was further entrusted with a secret offer of a large sum of money to the great John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough—who was reputed willing to sell

* Cf., the " London Gazette " of the period, e.g., May 15th-22nd, 1671 : " From Adrianople our last Letters tell us, that the Grand Vizier had given directions for the speedy marching of 30,000 men towards the Ukrain, as it is feared, to assist the Cossacks under the conduct of Dorosensko, in their designs against the Poles." June 12th-15th : " From Warsaw we hear of a great body of Tartars that were come into the Ukrain." August 7th-10th : " Warsaw, July 28th.—Our last advices from the Ukraine have not a little startled us here, which tell us that the Tartars and Cossacks are joyned together, with intention to attacque some part of this kingdom." And many similar passages.

himself and his influence to anyone who would bribe him heavily enough—if he would use his influence with Queen Anne to support the Tsar's wishes. Peter presently received, through one of his diplomatic agents on the Continent, a message from Marlborough to the effect that he would be willing to help him if he might have a Russian principality as his reward. Peter thereupon gave instructions that Marlborough was to be offered his choice between the principalities of Kiev; that is, the Ukraine, Wladimir, and Siberia. The duchy he chose should bring him an annual income of 50,000 ducats, and he was also offered a ruby of a size unequalled* in Europe, and the Order of St. Andrew. The principality of Kiev being equivalent to the Ukraine, possession by an English ruler might have been added to the many vicissitudes through which that country passed.†

Eventually there was no need for Peter to carry out his promise. The British Government had no desire to see him in possession of an important coast-land, and Marlborough finally informed Matveéw that England could not become the ally of Russia, for fear that Sweden might retaliate by allying itself with France and Austria against England.

A few years later, in 1709, Charles XII. and Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacks, who had allied himself with the Swedish King against the Tsar, in the hope of driving out the Muscovite and regaining freedom for the Ukraine, were defeated by Peter at the battle of Poltava, a defeat which not only gave Russia the desired advantage over Sweden, but also dealt the death-blow to all Ukrainian

* "Ou à peu près," ran an additional margin note of the Emperor's hand.

† An account of this interesting transaction is given by the late Thedor de Martens, the infallible authority on International Law, in his "Recueil des Traités et des Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Etrangères," Tome ix. (x.), Angleterre, pp. 13, 14. It is also mentioned in the "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. 5, chapter xix., p. 595.

hopes of freedom. Nevertheless, there are many signs showing that the twentieth century may witness a return of the Ukraine to the rank of a European nation.

THE END

The Ukraine Committee

LONDON, 1914.

The members intend to study the Ukrainian question with an unbiassed mind, to further knowledge of its problems, to inform one another through the Secretary of their historical or other discoveries, to write or speak on the subject whenever possible, to bring their influence as readers or subscribers to periodicals to bear upon Editors, in order that they may be forced to recognise the value of the claims of the Ukraine, and the insult to 35,000,000 people contained in the appellation "Little Russians" or "Malorussians," which in England and France alone they still persist in using.

No subscription is asked for; no public or private appeal is made for funds. Members who wish to contribute to the work of the Committee can do so by arranging with the Hon. Secretary for publication of literature concerning the Ukraine at popular prices.

The membership of the Ukraine Committee is drawn from every part of the British Empire. Ukrainian Honorary Members are accepted. This appeal is especially made to the "Ruthenians" of Canada, to whose high moral and physical worth the Canadian authorities are now rendering public homage.

To MR. GEORGE RAFFALOVICH, Hon. Secretary,

22, Church Road, Barnes, Surrey, England.

I, ... of .....

wish to become a member of the Ukraine Committee.

Signature.....

7/9/73

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